

LUCIFER.

THE LIGHT-BEARER.

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WHOLE No. 904

THE WAR SPIRIT.

I hate that drum's discordant sound,
Parading round and round and round;
To thoughtless youth it pleasure yields,
And lures from cities, farms and fields,
To sell their liberties for charms
Of tawdy lace and glittering arms,
And, when the ambitious voice commands,
To march, and fight and fall in foreign lands.

I hate that drum's discordant sound,
Parading round and round and round;
To me it speaks of ravaged plains,
Of burning towns and ruined swains;
Of mangled forms and broken bones;
Of widows' tears and orphans' moans,
And all that misery's hand bestows
To swell the catalogue of human woes.

—Thomas Paine.

Church-State Archism Indicted by A Woman.

Crimes and criminals are built and born because of the great wrong first done to mothers. They are the offspring of church and state. Science now declares crime to be a disease, but it has not yet discovered the primal cause of this disease. It is an inheritance from centuries of legalized crime against woman, of which the church in its teachings is prime factor.

WILL GAIN NOTHING BY COMPROMISE.

Woman will gain nothing by a compromising attitude towards the church, by attempting to excuse its great wrong toward her sex, or by palliation of its motives. On the contrary a stern reference to facts, keeping the face of the world turned to its past teachings, its present attitude, is her duty. Wrongs of omission equal in magnitude those of commission.

MUST NOW ATTACK THE STRONGHOLD.

Advance for woman is too well established, woman has had too much experience, has borne too much ridicule, misrepresentation and abuse to now hesitate in an attack upon the stronghold of her oppression—the church. She possesses too full knowledge of its subtle touch upon civil law to dare leave it alone; it has become one of woman's first duties, one of her greatest responsibilities, to call public attention to its false teachings in regard to the origin, condition and subjection of woman. She has engaged in too many battles, weathered too many storms to longer hesitate in exposure of its stupendous crimes toward one half of humanity.

COWARDS WILL HIDE; THE BRAVE REJOICE.

Let those who fear, hide themselves, if they will, until the storm is past. Let those who dare, defiantly rejoice that they are called upon to bear still more, in order that woman may be FREE.

A BRIGHTER DAY DAWNING.

A brighter day is to come for the world; a day when the intuitions of woman's soul shall be accepted as part of humanity's spiritual wealth; when force shall step backward, and

love, in reality, rule the teachings of religion; and may woman be strong in the ability and courage necessary to bring about this millennial time. The world is full of signs of the near approach of this period; as never before is there an arousing sense of something deeper, holier in religion than the Christian church has given.

THE ADVENT OF HEROIC SOULS.

The world has seemingly awaited the advent of heroic souls who once again should dare all things for the truth. The woman who possesses love for her sex, for the world, for truth, for justice and right, will not hesitate to place herself upon record as opposed to falsehood, no matter under what guise of age or holiness it appears. A generation has passed since the great struggle began, but not until within ten years has woman dared attack upon the veriest stronghold of her oppression, the Church.

BENT BEFORE BIRTH.

The state, agent and slave of the church, has so long united with it in suppression of woman's intelligence, has so long preached of power to man alone, that it has created an inherited tendency, an inborn line of thought toward repression. Bent in this line before his birth, man still unwittingly thinks of woman as not quite his equal, and it requires a new creation of mind to change his thought. A second generation has arisen, in whom some slight inherited tendencies toward recognition of woman's right to herself are seen. In the next generation this inherited line of thought will have become stronger, both Church and State more fully recognizing woman's inherent right to share in all the opportunities of life; but at what cost to all who have taken part in the great struggle!

A SCATHING IMPEACHMENT.

Has woman no wrongs to avenge upon the church? As I look backward through history I see the church everywhere stepping upon advancing civilization, hurling woman from the plane of "natural rights" where the fact of her humanity had placed her, and through itself, and its control over the state, in the doctrine of "revealed rights" everywhere teaching an inferiority of sex; a created subordination of woman to man; making her very existence a sin; holding her accountable to diverse code of morals from man; declaring her possessed of fewer rights in church and in state; her very entrance into heaven made dependent upon some man to come as mediator between her and the Savior it has preached, thus crushing her personal, intellectual and spiritual freedom.

THE GREATEST CONFLICT YET TO COME.

Looking forward I see evidence of a conflict more severe than any yet fought by reformation or science; a conflict that will shake the foundations of religious belief, tear into fragments and scatter to the winds the old dogmas upon which all forms of Christianity are based. It will not be the conflict of man with man upon rites and systems; it will not be the conflict of science upon church theories regarding creation and eternity; it

will not be the light of biology illuminating the hypothesis of resurrection of the body; but it will be the rebellion of one half of the church against those theological dogmas upon which the very existence of the church is based. In no other country has the conflict between natural and revealed rights been as pronounced as in the United States; and in this country where the conflict first began, we shall see its full and final development. During the ages no rebellion has been of like importance with that of Woman against the tyranny of Church and State; none has had its far reaching effects. We note its beginning; its progress will overthrow every existing form of these institutions; its end will be A REGENERATED WORLD.—Matilda Joselyn Gage in "Woman, Church and State."

Marooning the Anarchists.

By reference to the President's message it will be seen he makes the assertion that if the country (or world) were turned over to the tender mercies of Anarchism its reign would last for but one *red moment*; then all the achievements of civilization would be succeeded by centuries of dark ages. What can he mean by such a declaration? Does he imagine that it is possible to destroy all our inventions, our literature and our sciences? Does he believe in a world holocaust? Even if such a thing were possible are the Anarchists the people to advocate or even endorse such a scheme?

Then we see statements in the big dailies, small weeklies and middling monthlies that Anarchists' "rule" would be nothing more nor less than hell on earth, where greed and grab would be the common rule of action, and arson, assault and murder of daily occurrence, while hate and strife would be the perpetual curse of life. Such is, in fact, the chronic condition of society under government, where craft and cunning are the leading principles by which all business transactions are governed.

There is also much talk about deporting and marooning the Anarchists of the world on some island, there to work out their own salvation in their own way, and intimating that such a course would soon wipe them from the face of the earth. All the writers for these papers try to make it appear that the word Anarchism is synonymous with chaos, and that an Anarchist community is an impossibility.

As a matter of fact, an Anarchist community, conducted on Anarchist principles, would provide an ideal condition of human existence—a heaven on earth. Might and greed would be replaced by a policy of non-resistance and prodigality. Everybody would be protected in his natural rights by natural laws, though sometimes enforced by human beings. There would be no murder, rape, robbery and arson or other outrages, for the simple reason that there would be no occasion for them, as there would be no private property in land, in money, machinery and human beings as we know it in the archist state of society. There would most likely be free and abundant production by all and free consumption for all. There would be institutions of learning including the best of training schools that would instruct the youth in the industrial arts as well as in economics, sociology and the sciences. The field, farm and factory would be much better understood by young and old alike than they are under so-called "law and order," where speculation and gambling are looked upon as very important industries, and where the accumulation of wealth without rendering *quid pro quo* is held in high esteem, and the worker, the producer of all wealth, is looked down upon as an inferior being.

If the government will set aside an inhabitable island large enough to support upwards of a million inhabitants and supply a reasonable amount of seeds and tools to insure a fair start for all the deported and agree to keep hands off, it will have no trouble in getting rid of the Anarchists. There would no doubt be thousands—yea, hundreds of thousands—who would not only be willing but anxious to try life under such conditions. Nothing would suit the Anarchists better than a fair opportunity to try their theories of life without let or hinderance, for they are fully convinced that such a trial will prove the utility of their teachings.

Anarchism is the nearer goal in the march of civilization for which all mankind is consciously and unconsciously striving. As to what the ultimate goal in human progress will be, or whether the race will ever establish absolute liberty is something that we can leave to posterity to solve. What we are most concerned about is the acquisition of all the liberty we can without infringing on the liberty of others.

Archism is self-destructive, for the simple reason that authority and liberty cannot exist side by side, the one must destroy and supplant the other. Where authority begins liberty ceases, hence under Archism there can be no real liberty. Authority begets power, power begets force, force begets brutality, and it in turn begets more brutality and tyranny until the limit is reached and the brutalized masses resort to revolution. But how many revolutions has it taken to establish what little liberty we possess today, and how many more will it take to secure the real or absolute article?

Anarchism being based on liberty, its advocates, when permitted to do so, will live in peace and harmony, happy and content in the employment of their faculties as by nature inclined, making the most out of this life by really living like human beings, without drudging and slaving to make and accumulate money to leave to thankless progeny or other relatives to fight over; in short, making this world as near as possible an ideal abode for mankind without reference to what may or may not come hereafter.

Some one says: But why should the government of this country or the governments of the world, furnish the seeds, implements and provisions for a fair start, as well as the island for these detested Anarchists to live on? Simply because they are entitled to that much in return as a very small share of what they have produced and have been robbed of by the capitalists of the world. If the producers the world over were permitted to keep the full value of the products of their labor there would be no millionaires, nor would there be any destructionists to keep them and their rulers in constant terror. There would and will be Anarchists, in the true meaning of the word, until all human government of force, fraud, tyranny and robbery disappear from the face of the earth.

Then, again, it is objected that an island large enough to accommodate a million people is out of all proportion to the number to be provided for. Here is where our statesmen and rulers make their greatest mistake, unless they want to confine their law strictly to the "American output." Even then it is more than likely that an island with a capacity for sustaining a million people would be entirely too small in less than five years from the landing of the first shipment. There are many people who are not avowed Anarchists who are perfectly willing to take their chances with them, fully confident that their social and economic conditions cannot be worse than they now are. Moreover if there is no change for the better in the conditions of the producing classes soon, there will be millions of Anarchists where there are hundreds or thousands now, and the question of providing room for them outside of the countries owned by the capitalists will be a very serious one. In view of all these facts, it will be well to start this deportation scheme on a proper scale to begin with, or else it might become an object of ridicule and jest.

C. H. WESSELER.

Ouray, Colo.

Proudhon and His Critics.

The oft-observed fact that it depends very largely upon what is already in the mind of the reader or hearer as to what impression will be made by reading a book or hearing a discourse, is well illustrated by the comments and criticisms received at this office upon the famous work of P. J. Proudhon, entitled "What is Property?"

As samples of such comments and criticisms the following paragraphs, written by two of Lucifer's subscribers are herewith submitted, without offering an opinion as to the correctness of either critic.

M. H.

Whenever I find any one who recommends "What is Prop-

erty?" by P. J. Proudhon, as being an Anarchistic book, I show symptoms of paresis, being compelled to conclude that all known rules of reasoning from facts must be gibberish. In No. 899 Mr. Henry Bool says he has placed three Anarchistic volumes in Cornell University Library, and if "What is Property?" is not there it will be soon. The only thing that will restore my sanity is for Mr. Bool to declare that his intent is to place a State-Socialistic book alongside those other three to counteract their influence. He evidently never read the work, or if he did he was in a trance, the condition of Mr. Tucker when he translated the book, as he has since been oblivious to the fact that it is a State-Socialistic work, of the paternalistic sort, if there be such.

Mr. Proudhon sanctions the "authority of law" in this work, would give the state "eminent domain over all capital," and "transform every trade and profession into a public function," declares against competition, and for equal rewards to labor, and thus goes to a greater extreme than do American Socialists today, who declare for collectivism only as regards monopolies. Mr. Bool thus adds to the confusion as to the meaning of Anarchism and Socialism, and assists Lucifer in this, which journal classes "the feudalistic, the oligarchic, and aristocratic tendencies of our present political industrial and ethical systems" along with the "boodle" system, as Socialistic. (See No. 899).

C. F. H.

It is a mistake to suppose that Proudhonian Anarchists would be satisfied with any voluntary protective association simply because it is voluntary so far as its own members were concerned. No such society would be satisfactory unless it granted the accused the right of trial by jury. When education in juryism has spread sufficiently, an organization offering real jury trial would draw membership, leaving aggressive societies to die for want of support. The Scotts, Kerrs, Montagus and Capulets are not examples of the voluntary associations advocated by libertarians. Some critics set up an Anarchistic man of straw to be knocked down by a Socialistic stuffed club.

EDGAR D. BRINKERHOFF.

The American Press-Writers' Association.

If I were to write the thought that comes uppermost, it would be the strenuous life of a Press-Writer. My mail today consisted of seventeen rolls of papers, ten letters and four postal cards, and all in the interest of the good work. From one of the letters I quote the subjoined, which shows that there are others quite as busy:

"I have been quite seriously indisposed this winter and feel that I have not been keeping up my end of the traces, though I have endeavored to whack things orthodox which appeared in our local papers. Wrote up Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year's, and have one ready for St. Valentine's Day. Sent another article to Spokesman Review two or three weeks since; a long one on "Cremation" to Omaha World-Herald last week; one to Waterloo (Ia.) Times; one to San Francisco Bulletin; two to Baltimore American; three to Boston Traveller; one to Iowa Homestead; one to Chicago Record-Herald; one to Chicago Post, besides some unimportant contributions. A couple of weeks ago a letter from Mason, Iowa, inclosed a plagiarized paragraph of Robert Ingersoll by a South Dakota priest, printed in North Western Catholic of Sioux City, Iowa. I immediately wrote that paper, asking for an explanation, and received a letter stating that the matter had been referred to the priest, but I have as yet not heard from him. I have had printed in pamphlet form "Canon Law for Woman" and shall send you one soon. I hope to be able to do more work a little later. Trust you keep well, and am rejoicing over the good work being done by the Press-Writers. Fraternally yours,

HARRIET M. CLOSZ."

So I would say to this good worker and many others: May you have the strength to keep on as you are nobly doing I like to read your reports, but cannot find time to answer all your letters.

NEW MEMBERS.

216 c. Abbey, Mand, Box 65, Wathena, Kansas.

217 c. Campbell, James, Havelock, Neb.

218 b. Baruch, Mrs. Bertha Hirsch, 1300 N. 18th St. Philadelphia, Pa.

219 d. de Crane, Miss May C. P., Lake City, Iowa.

220 b. Callingham, William M., Box 184, Camden, N. J.

221 d. Burnside, D., Cross Hill, S. C.

222 b. Rose, Howard, Chariton, Iowa.

223 d. Pierce, C. J. L., 13 Crescent Place, Brockton, Mass.

224 d. Lamb, L. L., Dryden, Lapeer Co., Mich.

225 b. Moore, Prof. John, 206 Northampton St., Sta. A. Boston, Mass.

A. C. ARMSTRONG, 17 Leroy St., Dorchester, Mass.

VARIOUS VOICES.

Mary Gird Peters, Fall Brook, Cal.:—Lucifer is showing an intensity of purpose that makes it a standing rebuke to all lukewarm reformers. I hope it is not utterly wearing you and your father out. You are surely in no danger of rusting out.

S. J. Hickok, Canton, Pa.:—On a street car in Philadelphia last week I saw a lady reading a copy of your paper. I asked to see it and took the address. Please send it to me. I discovered some interesting facts, though I had it only five minutes and never saw a copy before.

L. M. Graves, Newport, Oregon:—I do not wish the paper longer. Please stop it. There are many good things in it, but nothing but obedience to Christ will make this world better; so I am thankful for having read your paper, for I want to prove all things and cleave to that which is good.

E. Gillies, 408 Corydon Ave., Ft. Rouge, Winnipeg, Man.:—I want to take advantage of your generous offer of Dr. Foote's "Home Cyclopedia" at half price, so hasten to send you \$2.18 for which extend my subscription one year and send me the book. I see so much in Lucifer that I enjoy reading that I could not do without the paper.

L. W., Ohio:—I have received a supplement to "Clothed With the Sun" which told of an outrage on a paper called "Discontent" of Home, Washington. It seems to me that we ought to make every effort to maintain absolute freedom of speech for every sect in this country, and as this case will be used as a precedent we ought to make every effort to assert that great principle now, regardless of the cost.

Nellie M. Mastick, 712 Beacon Place, Seattle, Wash.:—I enclose \$2 to apply on subscription, and 25 cents for another copy of "The Prodigal Daughter." I must have had at least half a dozen already, but don't seem to be able to keep one on hand. Lucifer grows better and better. I like your attitude on the McKinley affair and also the stand you have taken on vaccination and anti-toxin. It is an outrage that we must submit to having our children poisoned in such ways or not be allowed to send them to school. For myself I have solved the problem by sending my children to Home, and am pleased to say they are learning faster and better there than they have ever done before.

Herbert Gries, Cal.:—Please enroll my name on your list for the bound volumes of Lucifer for 1901. Let me know when ready. Is "Our New Humanity" still published? If so, please take my subscription.

[We would like to hear, as soon as possible, from all who want bound volumes of Lucifer for 1900 and 1901, as we wish to know approximately how many to send to the binder. 52 copies in each volume, bound in cloth, \$1.25 per volume, net, postage 25 cents.

"Our New Humanity" is no longer published; but we have back numbers on hand, price 25 cents each. L. H.]

THE CHICAGO Society of Anthropology meets every Sunday at 3:30 P. M., Hall 913 Masonic Bldg. Admission free. Free discussions. Feb. 16, Prof. J. M. Clarke will read a paper on "Law as an Anti-Social Institution."

Lucifer, the Lightbearer

M. HARMAN, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.

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To Our Press-Writers.

There is never a lack of opportunities for the American Press-Writers' Association to get in their work to good advantage. There never has been a time since government of man by man began, that watchmen were not needed to see that the ruling classes did not seek, stealthily or openly, to enlarge their power over the governed, by securing new legislative enactments, by new imperial decrees, by new judicial rulings, or by new interpretations of older statutes, decrees, judicial rulings, etc., etc.

The recent assassination of a chief ruler of the United States has been seized upon and apparently welcomed, by the ruling classes in this country as a suitable occasion for securing additional legislation in their interest. Ever since the death of William McKinley the organs of the party of which he was a member, and also many leaders of opinion that do not belong to that party, have been urging that new laws should be enacted by our national legislature, abridging the freedom of speech and of press and making it more clear than ever before that this government is not one of equal rights but that the lives of rulers should be safeguarded in ways that are not thought necessary for the safety of the average citizen—or, more correctly speaking, of the SUBJECT masses.

In obedience to this demand for new legislation—legislation in line with the imperialistic, the archistic tendencies of our national government, an "anti-anarchy bill" has been reported to the so-called house of representatives at Washington.

A Chicago daily—"The Chronicle"—of recent date has this to say in regard to the proposed monarchic legislation:

The house committee on judiciary has reported an anti-anarchy bill surprisingly sweeping in its provisions. Even if the legislation is discreet, it will be difficult to enforce and can hardly be expected to run the gauntlet of the courts.

Judging the effect of the proposed legislation by the history of a law somewhat similar in its object, the so-called "Comstock" postal law, it will depend on the ignorance and the prejudices of judge and jury as to whether the accused shall be adjudged guilty and punished for exercising his citizen rights or not.

The plain duty, then, of every man and woman who would prevent the arbitrary use of power—power whose

use necessarily means ABUSE—is to prevent the enactment of laws under which such abuses can be sheltered, made respectable and honorable, that is, made LEGAL! The only way to prevent such legislative enactments is to create a public conscience that will be felt and heeded by our national law-makers. The way to create such public conscience is to "AGITATE, AGITATE, AGITATE," as the old Abolitionists used to say and do.

For this purpose there is nothing equal to the public press. Therefore, while we still have a modicum of freedom of press, let us use that freedom to the utmost of our ability, to prevent the loss of what freedom we still have.

Not only should our Press-Writers use every opening to get in their protest against the proposed "anti-anarchy" legislation, but every freedom-lover should do the same. Whether we sympathize with the doctrines called "anarchistic" or not, our legislators should be shown the dangers of such enactments. Anything may be called anarchistic that opposes the party that happens to be in power.

Another excellent way to prevent the enactment of bills into laws, such as that spoken of in the quotation from the "Chronicle," is the writing of personal letters to the members of congress by their constituents, and by the public in general. If these office-loving congressmen should receive hundreds or thousands of letters every week, protesting against the new un-American legislation, they would soon come to the conclusion that their chances of re-election would be endangered by a vote in favor of the bill to suppress or limit the freedom of speech and of press.

To our Press-Writers, and to all readers of this issue, who may think that back numbers of Lucifer would be good educational documents to help build up a healthy public sentiment on the question of suppression of speech and press, we would say that we have many hundreds of surplus copies of the paper issued since the assassination of McKinley, that we would be glad to send to such readers and helpers as will send us the amount of necessary postage thereon. Also, we have many thousands of surplus copies of numbers issued previous to the date named, that would be promptly sent on the same terms.

Please let us know at once how many copies to send to each reader who cares to help in this work. Never was there a time when prompt action was more necessary than at the present moment.

Not a single day or hour should be lost through apathy or procrastination.

M. HARMAN.

The Disease of Diseases—Archism.

For more than twenty-one years our Light-Bearer, our little "Herald of the Dawn," has been telling its readers that the worst foe to human rights, to human justice, to human progress, and therefore the worst foe to the human race itself, is

AUTHORITY, LEGALITY, LAW—CIVIL AND CANONICAL.

Through Lucifer's columns a few of us have constantly and unflaggingly preached the gospel of SELF-LAW, self-rule, self-government, self-ownership, self-knowledge, self-healing, the doctrine sometimes called "Anarchy," but more correctly called AUTARCHY, from the Greek words AUTOS "self," and ARCHEIN to rule.

Though constantly opposed by those whose interest it is to have people divided into two distinct classes, the rulers and the ruled, the law-makers and the law-obeyers, the

priesthood and the laity, the privileged few and the unprivileged masses; notwithstanding misrepresentations the most persistent and calumnies the most groundless and shameless; in the face of persecutions through many courts of justice (miscalled) ending, after years of expensive legal defense, in imprisonment for some of the defenders of the right of protest against outrage and invasion of the most intimate and sacred of personal rights—withstanding all these hardships and discouragements we feel well rewarded for all the pain, the weariness, the pecuniary loss, when we note the change in tone and attitude of many of the popular leaders of the present day, as compared to that tone and attitude only a few years ago.

In last week's *Lucifer* was printed part of the leading article in the February "Arena," called by some "The World's Leading Review," a journal of thought and opinion published in New York City—the same Review that was published and edited several years in Boston by B. O. Flower, who is still one of its editors under the new management. This leading article from which we quoted was written by Reverend Heber Newton, a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, a position that gives great influence to whatever he may say on any line of current thought. This article is headed, "Political, Economic and Religious Causes of Anarchism," and is the second essay on that subject by the same distinguished writer, published in the "Arena."

As partially shown in our last week's comments, this distinguished leader of current thought—not only of religious thought but also on questions that are commonly regarded as secular, or this-worldly—has substantially endorsed *Lucifer's* long contention that it is not the revolt against church-state authority that is the real disease, not such killings as that of McKinley by Czolgosz, but that the disease is to be found in the church and state themselves, that is, in the rulership of man by his fellowman.

It is not to be expected that a man who has looked out upon the world for half a century through glasses colored by church-state superstitions can be truly logical and rationalistic in his diagnosis of the diseases that afflict our common humanity. Accordingly we find Dr. Newton indulging in arguments like this:

The most superficial student of Anarchism should not miss the fact that it is a revolt against the social oppression and the economic injustice of our competitive civilization. It is men maddened by a burning sense of industrial wrongs who turn to the bullet and the bomb to right these wrongs. Below the political tyrannies of Russia, Poland, and Italy lie the economic tyrannies of those lands. Tolstoi and the wonderful group of modern Russian novelists must surely have opened the eyes of our blindest optimists to this fact. It is a starving peasantry that recruits the armies of Anarchism.

How many of *Lucifer's* readers, or those of the "Arena," are willing to admit that the "civilization" of so-called Christian lands is really "competitive"?

How much competition is allowed in supplying the volume of circulating medium, commonly called "legal tender" MONEY?

How much real competition in securing LAND on which to build a home?

How much man-to-man competition in securing opportunities of obtaining a livelihood from the soil, or from mines of coal, petroleum, or of the useful metals?

How much chance for honest competition between the tariff-protected and the non-protected industries? or between the "patent-holder" on labor-saving inventions and the man not thus favored?

Where is real honest competition to be found between the holders of ANY kind of franchise or monopoly or privilege, and him who has neither money nor influence to purchase such franchise, monopoly or privilege?

Everywhere we find the competitive principle throttled, defeated, killed, by privilege, by discrimination, by monopoly, and nowhere is equitable competition and generous emulation so disastrously defeated as by the church-state laws in regard to the mating of human beings for REPRODUCTION!—I mean, of course, our marriage and divorce laws, whereby the prospective mothers of the race are denied their natural right to choose and obtain the best possible FATHERHOOD for their children.

In the working of these last named laws and customs—which laws and customs were made and are now supported mainly by the hierarchies of which Rev. Newton is himself a conspicuous example—do we find the chief and underlying cause of all the inequalities, all the slaveries, deformities, vices, crimes and diseases that defeat and curse what is called civilization today.

In calling our civilization "competitive" instead of monopolistic and archistic, Dr. Newton makes the common, the fatal error in his diagnosis of the disease that afflicts the patient he seems anxious to assist in regaining health and happiness.

After dwelling at some length upon the darker shadows that furnish the background of the picture of economic life in Europe our High Church physician adds:

Thank God, the conditions in our country are lighter than in the Old World! None the less, the shadows even here are dark enough. He who knows anything of the life of our New York "east side," of our sweat-shops, of our great stores with their multitudes of shop-girls earning on an average \$4 per week, of our coal mines and other industrial fields where similar conditions reign, knows the hell out of which rise every now and then the sulphurous fumes at which we shudder.

When we consider the comparatively few years that archistic monopoly and privilege have had in this country in which to get in their work and to consolidate their power, and when considering the immensely greater natural advantages possessed by the United States over the European archies in the matter of unoccupied lands, rich in all the elements that invite and reward industry—fertility of soil, boundless stores of all the useful minerals, coal, iron, lead, copper, to say nothing of timber for fuel and for its endless uses in building, in manufacture of articles of utility and luxury—when all these advantages are considered the odds are against us! Instead of being "lighter" the "shadows" are really DARKER, when we consider all the circumstances just hinted at, and if we are to judge by the rate of advance toward monopolistic despotism made in the past forty years in this country, the time is not far distant when not only comparatively but actually and really the conditions of the poor will be worse in every particular, on this side the Atlantic than they are now in any part of the so-called "Old World."

Much to the same purport are the paragraphs which follow the words just quoted. Our learned doctor thinks "these horrors are not due, ultimately to the badness of individual men," though admitting "there is enough of this in all conscience"—mentioning the case of a "certain Western Senator whose income from mines is reputed to be at least one million dollars per month, who is reported lately to have bitterly opposed the efforts of his miners to establish an eight-hour work-day."

No, the men who thus oppress and rob their employes, and rob both producer and consumer, are not exceptionally bad men. Under like circumstances the men who now denounce Senator Clark of Montana would do just as he is doing. The love of wealth and power grows with their pursuit and possession, until it becomes a veritable mania.

Our eminent New York "divine" thinks "the responsibility for the conditions of poverty in our world today lies at the door of our imperfectly developed economic system which binds us all together in the responsibility for economic wrongs to whose heinousness we are blinded by use."

"True, O King!" but why confuse matters by calling our legalized robber system an "imperfectly evolved economic system?" If our land laws, money laws, franchise laws, etc., had been specially framed with a view to enable the few greedy and unscrupulous ones to rob the many of their share of nature's opportunities their framers could scarcely have done their work better than they did. Then why not call things by their right names and say, "our monarchic, plutarchic, aristarchic robber system?"

With our marriage ethics what they are; with our family or home training what it is; with our school training what it is, all teaching us to grasp and to hold all we can—in which contest the clergy are quite as ambitious and covetous as is the average of farmers, mechanics or tradesmen—the result is just what we might reasonably expect. Under all the circumstances the result could not possibly be different from what it is.

Proceeding with his indictment Bishop Newton says:

The burning wrongs entailed by this now outgrown system—unethical, immoral, irreligious—fire the revolt which we know as Anarchism. Anarchism is one with Socialism in the belief that our present competition is essentially and unescapably unjust and oppressive; that it imposes a new slavery on labor, politically freed; that it wrests to the luxury of the few the provision of Nature for the support of the many; that it turns bread-winning into a strife more cruel than the struggle of existence among the lower lives around us.

Herein, while accepting and endorsing the manifest spirit of the writer I take exception to his terminology, to his use of words, maintaining that it is an abuse of language to call our present system a "competition," for reasons already stated. To speak of this monopolistic system as "unethical and immoral" is certainly correct, but whether it is "irreligious" may be a matter of opinion. It depends on what you mean by "religious." If it be religious to be like the god of the Hebrews and Christians, then our present system, military, commercial and industrial, is eminently religious—if we are to believe what the Hebrew Bible says of the god of Moses and of Joshua; of David—"the man after God's own heart;" the god of Samuel who anointed David to be king over Israel. In the treatment of the Canaanites by this "peculiar people," this eminently religious people, an example was set that fully justifies all the robberies and murders committed by the armies of the United States and of England in the Philippines and in South Africa; also all the legalized robberies by the pious Rockyfellow, by the managers of the steel trust, the coal and railway trusts, by the land monopolies, etc., etc.

To speak of our present monopolistic system as "outgrown," is evidently a misnomer. If to be popular with rich and poor; if to have the united and unqualified support of the leaders in church and state, and also of the leaders in what is known as polite, cultured and refined "society"—if all these mean anything then the system condemned by Reverend Newton is NOT outgrown. On the contrary it was

never before so vigorous; never before had it so strong a hold on life as at the present moment.

Proceeding with his impeachment of our archistic economic and social system, the writer of the "Arena" article on the causes of anarchism says:

Anarchism could not be, were society well organized and industry just and Christian. It is the cry of insane wrath against the horrors of our civilization—a civilization that dooms hosts of hard-working men to squalid poverty, joyless toil, hourly fear of the morrow, ghastly disease, and untimely death, and that opens below hosts of hard-working, half-starved women the hell of harlotry.

As with the word "religious" it all depends upon what we mean by the word "Christian" when used in connection with "industry." The much-praised "Sermon on the Mount" advises the followers of the Nazarene to "take no thought for the morrow," and to lay not up "treasures upon earth," but to look for daily bread to their "father in heaven." So thoroughly imbued were the early Christians with the idea that their God would provide for their daily wants, even as he fed the ravens and clothed the lilies, that they discouraged industry, except perhaps to supply their most pressing needs. Many Christian orders through out the middle ages, even down to the present, led and lead vagrant lives, or live without industry in monasteries and convents, depending on charity for their daily bread.

The writer of the "Arena" article may have a revised creed of his own making, but if "Christian" ethics are really based upon the creeds of the leading denominations known by that name, including the Roman and Greek Catholic—the mothers and grandmothers of all the younger Christian sects—then it is nothing to be wondered at that Christians rob and butcher each other in their wars of conquest, or that they rob and starve each other in their industrial wars, or that they look with unconcern upon the hells of economic suffering, the hells of vice and of crime caused by their own narrow selfishness and remorseless greed. Men who can accept the theology of the Methodist Church, for instance, whose leaders are now sitting in judgment upon and condemning Prof. Pearson for his "heresy" in regard to "Bible miracles;" men who can believe in an endless hell for the majority of mankind in the next world, and yet remain sane enough to keep out of the mad house—such men can logically be expected to look with indifference and even complacency upon the temporary and comparatively mild sufferings of their fellow beings in the hells of this world.

Yes, Brother Newton—if you will allow a layman and a "heretic" to call you brother—the trouble with our "civilization" today is not that we have too little love for or belief in Christianity, of the creedal kind, archistic kind, and not that we have too little respect and reverence for "law," of the statutory, the archistic kind, but because we have TOO MUCH love and reverence for these.

It is because we have too much of the religion, the ethics, of the late Wm. McKinley, and too little of the religion, the ethics, of Thomas Paine, (whose natal days were celebrated in many lands a week or two ago) that we have so much of poverty, so much of crime, and so much of misery in the United States, a country so bountifully blessed by nature with all that is necessary to make human life worth living.

M. HARMAN.

IN EVIDENCE, in part, of what our Press-Writers are doing, see page 35—this issue. See also suggestions under the head of "Various Voices" on same page.

The advocates of the scheme of Senator Hoar to maroon on uninhabited island all unbelievers in the divine institution of government, are numerous and influential. The arrangement, however, so far as its aspects have been presented, is altogether one-sided. What guarantee do they offer that if their plan is adopted the Anarchists shall be left alone to work out their destiny? Some voluntary exiles to the wilds of the state of Washington, where the moccasin tract is not as yet obliterated by white civilization, began a few years ago just such an experiment as Senator Hoar proposes, but their isolation has been broken in upon in the name of Comstock, their foremost men imprisoned, and their newspaper confiscated by official perfidy. If Mr. Hoar and those who agree with him are annoyed by the presence in this country of certain dissenters from their political and social faith, how would the proposition strike them to try the island plan themselves? Their ancestors, the Puritans, made such an experiment, and it was attended with success, the only sufferers being those who came before and after them.—Geo. E. Macdonald, in "Truth Seeker."

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